Introduction

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On 5 October 1885, the Reverend John de Soyres, the curate of St Martin-in-the-Fields, left his London flock unattended. He was answering an invitation to preach on Sunday morning in the University Church of Great St Mary's, Cambridge, on the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV (22 October 1685). He entitled his sermon 'The Huguenots and the Church of England', a fitting subject for an Anglican minister and scholar of French descent, indeed the son of a minister of the Bristol Huguenot Church.[1] In many ways, de Soyres was on home territory; the church of Great St Mary's, on one side of Market Hill, lay opposite his old college of Gonville and Caius, and as a lecturer in Modern History at Queen's College, London, he was used to addressing a university audience. The sermon was printed soon after its delivery with fairly copious endnotes explaining de Soyres's references, which suggests a readership not entirely familiar with some aspects of his subject matter. Some time before, the *Kentish Magazine* had reported the bemused reactions of Victorian tourists to the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, home to the French church; among obvious signs of boredom and remarks about the chill and dampness of the place, 'not perhaps more than half had a very well defined idea of what French Protestantism is or was'.[2] It seems that the anniversary of the Revocation would serve as a timely reminder in England of the nature of French Protestantism and the contribution of the early-modern *réfugiés* to English culture. This is also the aim of

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[1] On de Soyres's sermon, see *Cambridge University Reporter, 1884–1885*, p. 970 and the following comment in *The Cambridge Chronicle and University Journal*, 9 October 1885, p. 4, 'This pulpit last Sunday was occupied by the Rev. J. De Soyres of Caius, who alluded to the fact that this year is the 200th anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. As the descendant of an old Huguenot family, he made an eloquent appeal to the members of the English Church to extend warmer sympathy towards French protestants in the present day'. Some letters from de Soyres to the chief librarian of Cambridge University Library are preserved in Cambridge University Library Additional MS. 6463, letters 9519 and 9525.

[2] Quoted in Joseph August Martin, *Christian Firmness of the Huguenots and a Sketch of the History of the French Church at Canterbury* (London, 1881), pp. 33–4.

the present volume, which offers a fresh study of the British refuge in the context of the European diaspora, from the Restoration of Charles II to the middle of the eighteenth century, thus encompassing the major upheaval of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.

John De Soyres, high in the pulpit before the students and fellows assembled for one of their first gatherings of Michaelmas Term, certainly took this educative mission to heart.[3] While praising leading figures such as Jean Daillé, Jean Durel, Pierre du Moulin and André Rivet (all the objects of bibliographical notes in the printed version and many of them, no doubt, a mystery to his audience), he lamented the severing of ties between the Victorian Church of England and the Protestant Church of France. Whereas both churches had once enjoyed an intimate relationship through a shared experience of persecution and martyrdom, little attention was nowadays paid, according to de Soyres, to the common heritage of French and English Protestants. He blamed this on the 'dualism' of the Church of England, half way between Catholicism and Protestantism, on the isolation of the French Church '*au Désert*' (in the wilderness) for the greater part of the eighteenth century, and on the gradual weakening of a 'combative' union against the arch enemy. The Church of Rome, like John Bunyan's Pope in *The Pilgrim's Progress* (a work that de Soyres could still assume his audience would know very well), was now simply 'grinning' at those he could no longer terrify.[4]

De Soyres sought to reestablish a union between European Protestants, in the midst of a deep moral crisis he perceived in nineteenth-century France, to be fostered and led by the Church of England. Even though he paid particular homage to the theological influence of Huguenots, he confidently asserted that the refugees were not only welcomed but were also nurtured by a more mature, established church, ready to open its arms and embrace them. Taking the example of the Huguenots who worshipped in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral, he expatiated on

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[3] The involvement of John de Soyres in the commemoration of the bicentenary is not as straightforward as it might seem. De Soyres had probably been approached by Giraud Browning (the Honorary Secretary of the French Hospital) in his capacity as chaplain of the Hospital, to be a founder member of the Huguenot Society of London. At the inaugural meeting of the Society on 15 April 1885, de Soyres was proposed as the first Honorary Secretary, a post he resigned for no apparent reason at the first annual meeting, on 10 June. The Council, far from lamenting his departure, noted in the minutes that the post was unlikely to stay vacant for long, given the 'many' members who would be happy, and qualified, to serve in that role. At about the same time, de Soyres also resigned his chaplaincy. Although de Soyres was supposed to serve as Secretary, his name is not included in the list of 126 founder fellows. See *PHS*, 1 (1885): 10, 64, 69–95; for accounts of the celebrations, see *The Times*, 19 October 1885, p. 10, and 23 October 1885, pp. 9, 12; for the beginnings of the Huguenot Society of London, see Jean Tsushima, 'The Founding Fathers', *PHS*, 24/3 (1985): 178–88. Tsushima notes in a short bibliographical notice on de Soyres that he was 'founder fellow', but the printed minutes bear no trace of this.

[4] John de Soyres, *The Huguenots and the Church of England* (London, 1885), pp. 7–8.

the French Protestants, 'nestling under the shadow and protection of the Church of England'.[5] This 'claim of the Huguenot church to brotherhood and communion' was 'based upon the simple and irrefragable ground that her origin, evolution, and dogmatic articles are almost identical with those of the Reformed Church of England'.[6] The setting of French Huguenot worship, in the crypt, provided de Soyres with an opportunity to develop some potent themes. The image of the persecuted foreign church worshipping underground evoked the experience of the early Christian martyrs, referred to again in the persecution narratives of French Huguenots such as Jean Migault, whose children fled the *dragonnades* by hiding in a subterranean cave strewn with the bones of animals, as if buried alive.[7]

Yet the 1885 sermon epitomises much more than deep reverence for those who maintained their faith in the face of persecution and esteem for the foreign churches and nations who gave them sanctuary. De Soyres read his sources with a curious historical bias. In 1885, the year when the Huguenot Society of London began working on aspects of the Huguenot Refuge and promoting the printing of primary sources on which modern scholars still rely, de Soyres could have based his comments on a study of the French Church of Canterbury by Joseph Martin (cited in the endnotes to his sermon), a more general, albeit essentially descriptive, volume by John Burn, histories of the Huguenot diaspora by Reginald Poole and Charles Weiss and studies of the British Refuge by Samuel Smiles and David Agnew (by then runnning into a second edition) with whom he mixed at the meetings of the Society.[8] These studies present quite a different picture from de

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5 De Soyres, p. 13.

6 Ibid., p. 8.

7 *Journal de Jean Migault ou malheurs d'une famille protestante du Poitou victime de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes (1682–1689)*, ed. Yves Krumenacker (Paris, 1995), pp. 69–71, 123–4.

8 John S. Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees Settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (London, 1846); Charles Weiss, *Histoire des Réfugiés Protestants de France depuis la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes jusqu'à nos jours* (2 vols, Paris, 1853); Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots, their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland* (London, 1867); R.L. Poole, *A History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion at the Recall of the Edict of Nantes* (London, 1880); David C.A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV; or, The Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2nd revised edition (3 vols, London 1871). Burn's title is slightly misleading, as numerous examples are taken from after the Revocation. For Canterbury, these are to be completed by Samuel Kershaw's *Refugee Inscriptions in the Cathedral of Canterbury* (London, 1886) and Francis W. Cross's more ambitious *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury* (London, 1898). However, the most comprehensive nineteenth-century study of the English refuge is undoubtedly Fernand de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre* (3 vols, Paris, 1892), still a mine of information. Poole, Kershaw and William Minet were founder-members of the Huguenot Society and were joined on the second meeting by Schickler, Agnew and Martin as Honorary Fellows. On

Soyre's perfect union between French and English Protestants. De Soyres preaches unity and concord, but he does not expatiate on the fact that the French church meeting in the crypt was in fact a non-conforming church, which was taking advantage of the legal dispensations granted to the foreign churches to avoid adopting the liturgy of the Church of England. He chose to ignore the bitter quarrels among Canterbury Huguenots, especially at the time of the Restoration, when Le Keux, the minister of the crypt, was temporarily driven out of the Cathedral by a small faction of conformist Huguenots led by Jannon.[9] Canterbury's most distinguished historian would later pronounce the dispute 'a deplorable strife … which the historian would gladly pass over in silence'.[10] This is precisely what de Soyres does, when choosing to emphasize instead the sound of the French psalms and hymns mounting from the crypt and mixing with that of the English service above in divine harmony.[11] Whereas Joseph Martin is passionately in favour of the independence of the French church which would otherwise risk committing 'moral suicide',[12] de Soyres delights in their supposedly harmonious reunion, creating the myth of a uniform Huguenot church, and an equally enthusiastic English clergy. His singling out of men such as du Moulin or Durel, leading exponents of the Huguenot 'communion' with the Church of England, reinforced his historical myth-making, necessarily centred on a marginalisation of the foreign churches.

It is somewhat surprising that a community with such a shifting or, at times, even inconsistent position within or without the Church of England does not feature more prominently, with a few notable exceptions, in the work of historians who have paid particular attention to religious dissidence or non-conformity in Britain and America.[13] In the case of the Huguenots, this is a particularly complex

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their contribution to Huguenot historiography, see Robin Gwynn, 'Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain: Past, Present and Future', in Scouloudi, *Huguenots in Britain*, pp. 217–35.

[9] Martin, pp. 53–62. See also Cross pp. 119–42, Schickler, vol. 3, pp. 234–44 and Smiles, pp. 143–50 which incidentally compares the sobriety of the Victorian furnishing of the Huguenot chapel to that of a 'dissenting place of worship'.

[10] Cross, p. 123.

[11] 'It may be that the worshipper in that cathedral hears, amid the pealing chords of the Anthem, the lowly echoes of the old Protestant psalmody. Surely this is not discord: for there is a diviner music than unison, and that is harmony' (de Soyres, p. 13). See also Smiles who mentions 'a noble and touching concurrence' (Smiles, p. 150). It seems that not everybody was as happy as Smiles or de Soyres with the divine concord of French and English voices during the Canterbury service. A '14-inch thick wall' was erected in the late nineteenth century 'for the purpose of preventing the sounds of the French service from penetrating to the Western transept' (Martin, p. 42).

[12] Martin, p.61.

[13] On the issue on non-conformity in Restoration England, see Anne Whiteman, 'The Restoration Church of England', in Geoffrey Nuttall and Owen Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662–1962* (London, 1962), pp. 19–88; Douglas R. Lacey, *Dissent and*

story of soul-searching prevarications, appeals to conscience and liberty and competing allegiances, influenced by the particular situation of each individual church.[14] On the one hand, the Huguenots were undeniably attached to France, the French language and the French Reformed liturgy, if not actually to the French King who could be said, after the Revocation, to have been misled by a fanatical clergy; on the other hand, the gratitude they felt towards a church and a Stuart prince who had protected them from the onslaught of the dragoons (and who was ready to offer economic incentives to those judged fit to receive state bounty) manifested itself in obedience to foreign civil and ecclesiastical laws, acceptance of a foreign form of worship and ordination, and, ultimately in complete assimilation into a foreign culture. It is their story which opens this volume, a story of competing, and at times irreconcilable, allegiances.

One hundred years after John de Soyres's pulpit apology for the Church of England, public and scholarly interest was once again directed to the Huguenot contribution, or 'heritage' (to borrow the title of Robin Gwynn's study), on the occasion of the tercentenary of the Revocation. England shared in the general mood of sympathy for those persecuted for their faith. Exhibitions and conferences were organised;[15] monographs, collaborative works and volumes of proceedings

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Parliamentary Politics in England, 1661–1689 (New Brunswick, 1969); Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (1978; Oxford, 1985); Neil Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987) and *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford and Malden 2002), pp.132–58*;* John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven and London, 1991); Mark Goldie, Tim Harris and Paul Seaward (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990); and the trilogy of Richard Greaves on political and religious radicalism, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660–63* (New York and Oxford, 1986); *Enemies under his Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664–77* (Stanford, 1990); *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688–1689* (Stanford, 1992).

[14] For patterns of religious immigration in London, see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986) and for the later period, Robin Gwynn's ground-breaking articles, 'Arrival of Huguenot Refugees in England, 1680–1705', *PHS*, 21/4 (1969): 366–73; 'The Distribution of Huguenot Refugees in England', *PHS*, 21/5 (1970): 404–436 and 'The Distribution of Huguenot Refugees in England, II: London and Its Environs', *PHS*, 22/6 (1976): 509–568. See also *The Huguenots of London* (Brighton, 1998) and *Heritage*, pp. 130–31. Broadly speaking, after 1661, the community in East London worshipped under the auspices of Threadneedle Church while in the more fashionable West End, the main church was the Savoy (see chapter 3). It was created by Charles II in 1661, on condition that it should conform to the Church of England. Assimilation into English culture was quicker in the West than in the East of the capital, due to the proximity to the Court, religious conformity and commercial exchanges between the Huguenots and their English patrons.

[15] See Tessa Murdoch (comp.), *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685 to 1985*, Catalogue of the Museum of London Exhibition, in association with the Huguenot Society of London, 15 May–21 October 1985 (London, 1985).

appeared, contributing greatly to our understanding of the Refuge in the British Isles.[16] In addition to studies that concentrated on the Huguenots' position within Britain, there appeared timely re-appraisals of their influence on the European scene in the eighteenth century and their contribution to the European intellectual history and the Enlightenment.[17] At a time when the second and third generations of refugees were being assimilated in British culture, another kind of Huguenot weaving activity came into view: their unceasing work as teachers, printers, booksellers, translators and journalists that created a web of exchange stretching across Europe. And yet, as Robin Gwynn remarks (chapter 1), French scholars, with the very notable exception of Bernard Cottret who re-invigorated a tradition somewhat forgotten since Fernand de Schickler, have on the whole rarely directed their efforts solely to the British Refuge.[18]

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[16] There were numerous contributions appearing between 1985 and 1987. On French protestantism, see Janine Garrisson, *L'Edit de Nantes et sa Révocation. Histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris, 1985); Elisabeth Labrousse, *'Une foi, une loi, un roi?' Essai sur la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Geneva and Paris, 1985); Roger Zuber and Laurent Theis (eds), *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes et le protestantisme français en 1685* (Paris, 1986); see also the special issue of *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 17 (1985) entitled *Le Protestantisme français en France*. On the Refuge, see Michelle Magdelaine and R. von Thadden (eds), *Le Refuge Huguenot* (Paris, 1985); Mena Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (1985; Oxford, 1986). On Britain and Ireland, see Robin Gwynn, *Heritage*; C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough and Jean-Paul Pittion (eds), *The Huguenots in Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration*, Dublin Colloquium of the Huguenot Refuge in Ireland, 1685–1985, 9–12 April 1985, Trinity College, Dublin (Dun Laoghaire, 1987). The 1985 publications are reviewed in Mark Greengrass, 'Protestant Exiles and their Assimilation in early-modern Europe', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4/3 (1985): 68–81.

[17] Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven and London, 1995); Graham C. Gibbs, 'Huguenot Contributions to England's Intellectual Life, and England's Intellectual Commerce with Europe, *c.*1680–1720', in Scouloudi, *Huguenots in Britain*, pp. 20–41. See also the proceedings of the Münster round table of 1995, Jens Häseler and Antony McKenna (eds), *La Vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants*, 'La vie des Huguenots' 5 (2 vols, Paris, 1999).

[18] See Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, translated as *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement,* c.*1550–1700*. Recent French publications focus on more general aspects of the diaspora. See for instance, Eckart Birnstiel and Chrystel Bernat (eds), *La Diaspora des Huguenots. Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, 'La vie des Huguenots' 17 (Paris, 2001). The British Refuge is analysed by Fabienne Chamayou, pp. 43–62. Chamayou concludes that the desire to conform to the National Churches came from the Huguenots themselves, a position challenged by Robin Gwynn (below, chapter 1). Aspects of the Refuge are also referred to in more general works dealing with representations of French people in England, or conversely. In the wake of George Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1930), see for instance René Ternois, 'Les Français, en Angleterre au temps de Charles II, 1660–1676', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 34 (1960): 196–211.

This book is naturally indebted to these studies and the chapters which follow strike a balance between the analysis of the minutiae of the Huguenots' ecclesiastical positions and their wider influence in the European network of ideas, in the context of what Paul Hazard termed, sixty years ago, '*la crise de la conscience européenne*'.[19] This collection has its origin in the first colloquium in France specifically devoted to the religious ideas of the Huguenots in the early-modern period and it is conceived as a companion volume to the forthcoming selection from the colloquium's proceedings.[20] In the absence of a book-length study of the Huguenots in Britain during the long eighteenth century, it concentrates on the period from the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 to the mid-eighteenth century[21] and deals essentially with the Huguenots' religious position or religious impact, from resistance to, or compliance with, the Church of England's imposed liturgy (chapters 1–3), to Locke's association with a group of anti-Trinitarians whom he enlisted as part of his educational programme for England, or John Toland's toleration of religious minorities (chapters 8 and 10).[22] The main focus is on the British Isles, with a necessary incursion into the reformulation of some debated issues in the American colonies (chapter 6).[23]

The volume spans various phases of the British Refuge from the late seventeenth century onwards. The story opens in the early 1660s, with the Restoration of Charles Stuart and the beginning of Louis XIV's personal rule following the death of Mazarin, and their respective treatment of religious

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[19] The title of Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne (1680–1715)* (2 vols, Paris, 1935) referred to in English as 'the crisis of European thought'.

[20] *Les Huguenots dans les îles britanniques et les colonies américaines. Ecrits religieux et représentations*, 'La vie des Huguenots' (forthcoming).

[21] The Revolution extended the privileges already granted to the Huguenots by the Edict of Toleration in 1787. This is the period covered in Part VI (for the American colonies), Part VII (for England) and Part VIII (for Ireland) of the invaluable collection of papers given in 2000 at the conference celebrating the 450th anniversary of the charter granted by Edward VI: Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds), *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750* (Brighton and Portland, 2001).

[22] See for instance S. O'Cathasaigh, 'Bayle and Locke on Toleration' in Michelle Magdelaine, Maria-Christina Pitassi, Ruth Whelan and Antony McKenna (eds), *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières. Bayle et le protestantisme*, *Mélanges en l'honneur d'Elisabeth Labrousse* (Paris and Oxford, 1996), pp. 679–92 and John Marshall, *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility*, Cambridge Studies in Early-Modern British History (Cambridge, 1994), especially pp. 3–154 and 'Huguenot Thought after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: Toleration, "Socinianism", Integration and Locke', in Vigne and Littleton, *Strangers*, pp. 383–96.

[23] Jon Butler's study *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass, 1983) is complemented by Bertrand van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks (eds), *Memory and Identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, 2003) and Bertrand van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, 2005).

minorities; in one instance, Protestant dissenters such as Quakers, Baptists, Congregationalists, and eventually Presbyterians; in the other, members of the '*Religion Prétendue Réformée*', or *R.P.R.*, the acronym under which it came to be known. This coincided in England with a major division in the London Huguenot community, which led to the constitution of the Savoy Church, under the leadership of the conforming minister Jean Durel who oversaw a new translation of the Book of Common Prayer into French (chapter 3).[24] With the onslaught of the *dragonnades* in the summer of 1681, Charles facilitated the arrival of persecuted Huguenots by publishing a 'Brief for the Persecuted Protestants of France' (10 September 1681).[25] It opened the first major wave of immigration into Britain since the wars of religion, but this died down when the Huguenots took the full measure of the shambles of British domestic policies (chapter 1).[26] Persecutions in France peaked again with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, a few months after Charles was replaced on the throne by his openly Catholic brother James. Gruesome stories of those those who stayed in France have often been told: the solution was either to convert (failure to do so would entail prison sentences or the gallows and the forfeiture of one's property) or to flee to the 'wilderness' and attend clandestine meetings.[27] The Huguenots did not, however, immediately take refuge *en masse* in England, waiting instead for James's Edict of Toleration

[24] For many Huguenot pastors, see the corresponding entries in *Oxford DNB*. On the dictionary itself, see below chapter 3. On the French translations of the Book of the Common Prayer, see D. N. Griffiths, 'The French Translation of the English Book of the Common Prayer', *PHS*, 22/2 (1972): 90–114 and 'The Early Translations of the Book of the Common Prayer', *The Library*, sixth series, 3/1 (1981): 1–16. On Durel's position on conformity, see John McDonnell Hintermaier, 'Rewriting the Church of England: Jean Durel, Foreign Protestants and the Polemics of Restoration Conformity', in Vigne and Littleton, *Strangers*, pp. 353–8.

[25] The Brief is reprinted in George B. Beeman, 'Notes on the City of London Records Dealing with the French Protestant Refugees, Especially with Reference to the Collections Made under Various Briefs', *PHS*, 7 (1901–04): 164–6.

[26] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were many instances where the lack of understanding between the French and British Protestant Churches came to the fore. Elisabeth Labrousse, while studying to what extent the Church of England's ecclesiastical discipline was known to the French Protestants, concluded that 'the scantiness of their knowledge is staggering'. Blunders such as Pierre du Moulin's application for the Bishopric of Gloucester are, according to Labrousse, a case in point. See Labrousse, 'Great Britain as Envisaged by the Huguenots of the Seventeenth Century', in Scouloudi, *Huguenots in Britain*, pp. 143–57 and Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, pp. 142–50.

[27] One might cite two of the best-known accounts, that of Jacques Fontaine and Jean Migault. For editions of their texts, see Jacques Fontaine, *Les Mémoires d'une famille huguenote victime de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, ed. Bernard Cottret (Montpellier, 1992) and in English, *Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine, 1658–1728*, ed. Dianne W. Ressinger, Publications of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, New Series 2 (London, 1992) and *Journal de Jean Migault*, ed. Yves Krumenacker. For the horrors of persecution, see Garrisson, pp. 226–37.

proclaimed in 1687.[28] In 1688, the Glorious Revolution gave the crown to Mary, the daughter of James, and her husband William, kindling the Huguenots' hope that the European diplomatic ventures of the Protestant prince would soon put an end to their exile (chapter 5). These men belonged to the first generation of the Huguenot 'second' refuge in Britain, which until the Peace of Ryswick (1697) and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) expected to return to France. From 1713, when the hope for such a return was abandoned, the Huguenot *mentalité* changed from that of '*émigrés*' to that of '*émigrants*', a transformation so aptly commented upon by Elisabeth Labrousse, Myriam Yardeni, Ruth Whelan and Carolyn Lougee Chappell.[29] From then on, eagerness to conform to British culture, which meant above all conforming to its Church, resulted in their virtual disappearance as a separate object of enquiry for the historian.[30] The studies gathered here reflect this diversity, from periods of chaos and urgency in the face of persecution, to

[28] Philippe Joutard, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: End or Renewal of French Protestantism?', in Prestwich, *International Calvinism*, pp. 339–68; for the English point of view, see John Miller, 'The Immediate Impact of the Revocation in England', in Caldicott *et al.*, *Huguenots in Ireland*, pp. 161–203. Miller examines the reaction of James II to the Revocation as a combination of distate for religious persecution, fear of dissent and respect for international law. For another point of view, see Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 166–82: 'While in public he posed as the protector of the refugees, James deliberately shut his eyes to the violence practised against them in France and did what he could to discourage them from coming to England and to unsettle those who had sought asylum in his kingdoms' (p. 174). For emigration to Britain after the Revocation, see Gwynn, 'The Distribution II'; *Heritage*, pp. 42–51.

[29] See the collection of articles by Elisabeth Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction. Etudes sur le XVIIe siècle* (Paris and Oxford, 1996) pp. 120, 156, 188; Myrian Yardeni, *Le Refuge protestant* (Paris, 1980), pp. 105–108 and *Le Refuge huguenot. Assimilation et Culture*, 'La vie des Huguenots' 22 (Paris, 2002), pp. 39–57; Ruth Whelan, 'Persecution and Toleration: Changing Identities of Ireland's Huguenot Refugees', *PHS*, 27/1 (1998): 20–35 and Carolyn Lougee Chappell, '"The Pains I took to Save My/His Family": Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', *French Historical Studies*, 22 (1999): 1–64. Carolyn Lougee revised Labrousse's and Yardeni's distinction between *émigrés* and *émigrants*, by proposing a third category, the 'exile'. Yardeni examines how in the last instance utopian projects, such as Henri Duquesne's, to found a new Protestant colony outside Europe corresponded to an impossible ideal of reconciliation between Protestantism and national feeling; an ideal that would circumvent incompatibilities between French refugees and the countries of the Refuge (pp. 53–7). On the same questions, see also Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, pp. 292–8 and Gwynn, *Heritage*, pp. 202–19.

[30] On reasons for the widespread acceptance of conformity as the eighteenth century progressed, see Labrousse, 'Great Britain as envisaged by the Huguenots' and for America, Robert M. Kingdon, 'Pourquoi les réfugiés huguenots aux colonies américaines sont-ils devenus épiscopaliens?', *BSHPF*, 115 (1969): 487–509.

organisation yet separation from British mainstream culture and finally to assimilation, when Huguenots become Englishmen of French origin.[31]

But this evolution is not specific to the British Refuge, and neither was it as linear or as gradual as one might suppose.[32] Religious and political events in Britain necessarily qualified this pattern.[33] From the beginning of the *dragonnades* to 1688, the Huguenots in Britain lived under more or less openly Catholic kings. Few were free to worship in exactly the same way as they had in France. In 1688, they were asked to choose between loyalty to the (Catholic) dynasty that had sheltered them, and allegiance to a new (Protestant) monarch on account of his faith, a dilemma touching upon matters of conscience with which they were only too familiar and had not left behind when setting foot on the British coast. Huguenots were used to a dual allegiance to God and king; they could become used to a dual allegiance to a persecuting king in France, and a more enlightened (albeit Catholic) monarch in England; but when the Glorious Revolution demanded once again that they choose sides between Jacobites and Orangistes, deeply-felt questions of loyalty resurfaced.[34].

In such circumstances, one might expect from a persecuted religious community, especially at the time of massive exodus from its motherland, a certain degree of cohesion. As Randolph Vigne shows in chapter 4, the Huguenot churches and the networks of state or private charitable institutions, of financial, familial and geographical ties, all necessarily contributed to such solidarity. However, any monolithic view of the Huguenot community does not stand the test of even the

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[31] Yardeni, *Refuge Huguenot*, pp. 83–92. See also, Ronald Mayo, *The Huguenots in Bristol* (Bristol, 1985). Mayo dates the assimilation of the Huguenot in Bristol from the first decade of the eighteenth century, the first 'mixed' marriage having taken place in 1700 (p. 18).

[32] See Eileen Barrett, 'Huguenot Integration in late 17th- and 18th-century London: Insights from Records of the French Church and some Relief Agencies', in Vigne and Littleton, *Strangers*, pp. 375–82 and Ruth Whelan's analysis of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet's autobiography, 'Writing the Self: Huguenot Autobiography and the Process of Assimilation', ibid., pp. 463–77.

[33] For comparisons with other countries, see Joutard, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', pp. 352–7.

[34] These questions are embodied in the well-documented quarrel between Pierre Bayle, a staunch advocate of toleration and absolutism, who thought the Huguenots' support for William would endanger their return to France, and Pierre Jurieu, the ardent supporter of the Glorious Revolution who was deeply suspicious of toleration. Among the vast literature dealing with their respective positions, see for instance, Guy H. Dodge, *The Political Theory of the Huguenot of the Dispersion, with Special Reference to the Thought and Influence of Pierre Jurieu* (New York, 1947), pp. 34–93; Labrousse, *Conscience,* pp. 135–237; and recently, Antony McKenna and Gianni Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres. Philosophie, religion, critique*, 'La vie des Huguenots' 36 (Paris, 2004).

most cursory examination.[35] In the following pages, stories of national cohesion, mutual help and cultural uniformity are almost systematically shattered by stories of dissension, at times extremely moving: brother cuts himself off from brother; uncle from nephew; the church from its pastor; the pastor from his flock (as embodied, for instance, in the stories of the du Moulin and Rou families, and in the tensions within the church in Ireland, as examined below in chapters 2, 3, 6 and 7).[36] These internecine feuds, severing church and family ties within the exiled community, were sometimes healed by deathbed changes of heart, duly recorded and publicised, as in the case of Louis du Moulin; but just as often they were not, leaving dissenters the choice of either leaving their community or of waiting, in embittered silence, for better times to come (chapters 2 and 6). Britain seems to have witnessed, with particular sharpness, the ambiguity of French Protestantism in early-modern Europe, encapsulated in the apt definition of Raymond Mentzer and Andrew Spicer who view the Protestant as 'a complex and contradictory character: at times violent and driven to direct action, on other occasions prepared to work within the legal system; militant yet innately conservative and loyal to the crown; the persecuted victim of papacy and Roman Catholicism but a member of the Body of Christ'.[37]

Already ill-at-ease with religious settlements in exile which were hardly satisfying and the ambitions of the European monarchs, the Huguenots in Britain were also part of the wider community of Calvinists, the 'Calvinist International' whose tolerance of heterodoxy did not exactly allow dissenting systems to flourish (chapters 8 and 10). According to de Soyres, with whom I began, the best illustration of the Huguenot theological influence in England was Moïse Amyraut, hardly the least controversial figure in French Protestantism (chapter 7).[38]

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[35] For the complicated motives presiding over the choice to conform or not to a national Church, see Ruth Whelan, 'Sanctified by the Word: The Huguenots and Anglican Liturgy', in Kevin Herlihy (ed.), *Propagating the Word of Irish Dissent, 1650–1800* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 74–84. See also her 'Persecution and Toleration'.

[36] For an insight into the moral and social regulation provided by the French churches, see Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, pp. 271–92 and Eileen Barrett, 'Regulating Moral and Social Behaviour in the French Church of London, 1680–1689', *PHS*, 27/2 (1999): 232–45.

[37] 'Introduction', in Raymond Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 8.

[38] See Brian G. Amstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France* (Madison, 1969). On Amyraut's influence in England, especially on Richard Baxter, see Neil H. Keeble, 'Richard Baxter', *Oxford DNB* and Matthew Kadane, 'Les bibliothèques de deux théologiens réformés du XVIIe siècle, l'un puritain anglais, l'autre pasteur huguenot', *BSHPF*, 147 (2001): 67–100. Baxter kept in his library six books by Amyraut, which he recommends to his readers in the *Christian Directory* to heal the disputes between the Protestants. On the controversies within the Huguenot community after 1685, see Marshall, 'Huguenot Thought after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', pp. 383–5, and below, chapter 8. For Marshall, the tolerationist impetus of the Republic of Letters 'in intellectual space' did not actually

Universalism, Arminianism, Socianism, as heretical heirs of Calvinism, were hotly debated and as often as not, vehemently suppressed by more orthodox ministers. Obedience to Calvinist orthodoxy that transcended the limits of the national churches produced another layer of competing allegiance for Huguenot refugees.

The question of whether the Huguenot Church may be called non-conformist, and if so in what sense, provides one of the key issues addressed in this volume. This, again, came dramatically to the fore at the Restoration, both in England and in Ireland (chapters 3 and 7).[39] The body of legislative documents that came to be know as the 'Clarendon Code' silenced those ministers who felt they could not conform to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. For the French community, it meant that no new church could be established if it did not conform to the Anglican liturgy, in defiance of the liberty of worship that the foreign churches had enjoyed since Edward VI. And yet, the foreigners were never made subject to the legal penalties imposed upon the English non-conformists and a pre-Restoration non-conformist church, like Threadneedle in London, continued to worship without interference from the authorities.[40] Robin Gwynn, who has devoted many pages to this complex issue, has devised a typological distinction between the English 'Nonconformists' persecuted by the Restoration authorities, and the French 'non-conformists', standing freely outside the Church of England (chapter 1).[41] Seventeenth-century observers perceived the irony of the situation. At times, they even put it in print at the peril of their reputation and livelihood, if not of their lives. On 26 March 1682,

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translate into toleration in England for anti-Trinitarians, some orthodox Huguenots viewing with suspicion the extended 'latitude' of members of the Anglican clergy towards the colleagues whom they charged with heresy: 'The story, so far, then, is a story of the maintenance by the majority of orthodox Huguenots of a distinct, essentially Calvinist Huguenot identity in England and in the Netherlands, with Huguenots attempting to maintain in exile the orthodox faith for which they had gone into exile and attempting to police the belief of their fellow ministers as a separate community in England and internationally' (p. 384).

[39] See Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, pp. 199–256. Specifically on Ireland, see James McGuire, 'Government Attitude to Religious Non-Conformity', in Caldicott *et al.*, *The Huguenot in Ireland*, pp. 820–33; Jean-Paul Pittion, 'The Question of Religious Conformity and Non-Conformity in the Irish Refuge', ibid., pp. 285–95; Raymond Pierre Hylton, 'The Less-Favoured Refuge: Ireland's Nonconformist Huguenots at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century', in Herlihy, *Irish Dissent*, pp. 48–67; Michelle Magdelaine, 'L'Irlande huguenote: utopie ou réalité?', in Magdelaine *et al*., *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières,* pp. 273–87; Ruth Whelan, 'Liberté de culte, liberté de Conscience? Les Huguenots en Irlande, 1662–1702', in Häseler and McKenna, *La Vie intellectuelle*, vol. 1, pp. 69–83. Whelan concludes that non-conforming Huguenots would become the 'Cinderella' of the Irish Refuge and debunks the myth of a perfect harmony between the Huguenots on questions of conformity.

[40] Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, pp. 203–4.

[41] On questions of conformity and non-conformity, see Robin Gwynn's introductions to *A Calendar of the Letter Books of the French Church of London from the Civil War to the Restoration, 1643–1659*, HSQS, 54 (London, 1979) and Gwynn, *Minutes*.

Samuel Bold, the conforming vicar of Shapwick in Dorset, had planned to preach in his parish church on *Galatians* 4:29 ('But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him *that was born* after the Spirit, even so *it is* now'). However, this was also the day on which he was asked to read from his pulpit the 'Brief for the Persecuted Protestants of France', the generous conditions devised by Charles to welcome the Huguenots who fled the *dragonnades*. Bold therefore preached against any persecution, not just that perpetrated on the Huguenots, and that included the persecution of English non-conformists. The sermon printed a year later as *A Sermon Against Persecution* (1683) took him straight into jail. Bold's tone is extremely harsh when he rails against the persecutors threatened with exemplary divine punishment for inflicting pains upon '*men of great* Learning*, exemplary* Piety*, strict* Devotion*, and* extrordinary Loyalty *... Persons that could not be justly blamed for any thing, but that they had* straiter Notions *concerning* humane Impositions *in the* Service of God, *than we* Conformists *have*'.[42] Those '*lay*[ing] *aside* all Bowels of Compassion' in their defence of conformity commit 'a sin that destroys common Humanity: It makes [them] much more fit to be banish'd from all Reasonable Society, to abide in the Wilderness and Desart, with the Ravenous Devouring Monsters [they] resemble'.[43] Bold's sense of outrage before measures actively protecting foreign Protestants, while imprisoning home-bred non-conformists under the pretext of civil dissensions, pinpoints the legal oddities of the Restoration religious settlement.

But notions of what constituted conformity or non-conformity were not as clearcut as Bold's sermon suggests. The Restoration authorities were well aware that even conforming churches such as the Savoy practised an entirely personal (and not altogether orthodox) version of Anglicanism, or 'French Anglicanism'. Robin Gwynn cites the telling (albeit post-Revolution and highly biased) commentary of Michael Malard describing the Savoy as an 'amphibious church', 'a monstruous composition of an Episcopal face and a Presbyterian heart'.[44] In doing so, Malard imitates the standard style of seventeenth-century heresiographers whose favourite image to describe the spread of sects in England was that of an unnatural assemblage of eclectic, unrelated but equally heretical religious models.

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[42] Samuel Bold, *A Sermon Against Persecution* (London, 1683), sig. A2v.

[43] Bold sig. A2r and p. 23. For a detailed study of this text, contrasted with another sermon by George Hickes, see Mark Goldie, 'The Huguenot Experience and the Problem of Toleration in Restoration England', in Caldicott *et al.*, *The Huguenots in Ireland*, pp. 184–8 and Spurr, p. 83.

[44] Quoted in Gwynn, *Heritage*, p. 126. For the reaction of James towards the Savoy's imperfect conformity (what Bernard Cottret has termed its 'syncretism') see pp. 172–3. James objected, among other things, to the weaknesses of the French translation of the Anglican liturgy. For the different reactions of Henry Compton, Bishop of London and William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the supposed liberties the Huguenots were taking with the Anglican liturgy, see Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Henry Compton, Bishop of London (1676–1713) and Foreign Protestants', in Vigne and Littleton, *Strangers*, pp. 359–65.

Bernard Cottret reiterates this contemporary observation when discussing the 'hybrid' Savoy Church.[45] This is where *mentalité* historians such as Ruth Whelan or Bernard Cottret make an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the motives behind the decision to conform. After an analysis of the political and religious motives put forward by exponents of conformity such as Louis Hérault and Claude Groteste de la Mothe, Cottret turns towards the concept of *acculturation* and analyses, with the scant documents we possess, how the French conformists could twist the Anglican liturgy to serve their needs and avoid the most offensive elements for a French religious sensibility; in a word, how the conformity of the French is simply another version of the occasional conformity practised among English non-conformists, the foreigners appropriating only selected elements of the Anglican ritual.[46]

The historical debate is therefore far from closed on the question of resistance, acceptance or selective acceptance of the English religious model by the Huguenots, and the possible alliances and sympathies this could add to the Restoration religious scene. We can approach the French community from many different angles: accepting Anglicanism; resisting Anglicanism but distancing itself from English non-conformity on account of its legal right to worship; resisting Anglicanism because of affinities with a Presbyterian system; resisting Anglicanism with surface conformity. All these patterns correspond to circumstances that can be glimpsed at different times, in different communities and with different individuals, and the articles below seek to map out this diversity rather than to suggest a single model of explanation.

There are, for instance, many examples, albeit sometimes purely incidental, of *rapprochements* between the Huguenots and the English non-conformists, and these offer many directions for future research. Robin Gwynn has stories of Huguenots turning Quakers, but also Methodists and Independents, or even forming their own non-conformist sect, as with David Culy and the Culimites in the Fens. In Dublin, there was at least one instance of Huguenots being enticed to join English-speaking conventicles, and, conversely, on 12 November 1683, James Mellish, the Mayor of Southampton, complained to Bishop Morley that English non-conformists were in fact taking refuge in the French church.[47] Ruth Whelan, when analysing resistance to Anglicanism, has observed among the Irish Huguenots 'a theology and a religious culture which converged in significant ways with the religious sensibilities of the Presbyterians'.[48] In 1683, the minutes of

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[45] Cottret, *Terre d'exil*, p. 220.

[46] Ibid., pp. 212–25.

[47] Quoted in Malcolm R. Thorp, 'The Anti-Huguenot Undercurrent in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *PHS*, 22/6 (1976): 579. See, Hylton, 'The Less-Favoured Refuge', p. 87; Gwynn, *Heritage*, pp. 110–11.

[48] Whelan, 'Sanctified by the Word', pp. 90–91. This is not the view of Robin Gwynn, however, who maintains that one should be careful not to draw too many parallels between

Threadneedle revealed, however, that English Presbyterians could also prove to be liabilities for the Huguenots. When leaving a service, John Quick, the ejected Presbyterian Minister of Plymouth, who was obviously attending the French church, suggested reading the *Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos*. Needless to say, this was not well received by members of the foreign church still extremely careful not to revive distant memories of Huguenot rebellion. Quick's transcription of the French synods, and his manuscript biographical account of French ministers, testify to his personal attachment to the French Reformed system, but the reactions to his involvement with Threadneedle must have been very mixed, at a time when the Huguenot's day-to-day survival largely depended on the *bon vouloir* of the Stuarts.[49]

In the same way, not all Presbyterians felt deep sympathy with the French Protestants. In 1714, the 'autobiography' of the Presbyterian minister George Trosse, completed in 1693, appeared in print.[50] Trosse, when a youth of 14, was sent to France to improve his French and lodged with the family of minister Ramet, on the grounds of the castle of the duchess of Rohan, in Pontivy, Côtes du Nord. Ramet also ministered to the English merchants at Morlaix, but Trosse was less than impressed by his performance. First of all, Ramet completely failed to examine his transient flock, giving communion to all merchants indiscriminately; Trosse was then shocked by the absence of daily family prayers, and only once, on a Sunday, 'the *Minister*'s son read a *Chapter* and a *Psalm*, and some part of their *Common-Prayer*'.[51] Worst of all, 'a *Young Woman* of the *Minister's* Family' was seen dancing with papists on a Sunday afternoon without the slightest reproof, another sure sign, for Trosse, that the French Protestants did not hold the Sabbath in proper sanctity. Trosse did acquire some French among the Protestants of Pontivy, but he also turned into a debauched scoundrel, lapsing into a physical and spiritual decadence that he just stops short of blaming on loose Huguenot morals. When Ramet died one Sunday while supervising work on the castle in preparation for a visit by the Duchess of Rohan, Trosse concluded that, 'many such Providences have fallen out with relation to such as have concern'd themselves about *Secular Affairs* on the *Christian Sabbath:* Tho' it was not so sinful in [Ramet], who was taught to believe it *Judaical* to hold *one Day more holy* than *another*'.[52] This episode took place in 1646. There is no indication that, by

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French non-conformists and English Presbyterians on account of the 'gulf' that existed between them (Gwynn, *Heritage*, p. 128).

[49] Gwynn, *Minutes*, p. 104–10; Schickler, vol. 3, pp. 320–21; 'John Quick', in *Calamy Revised: Being a Revision of Edmund Calamy's* Account *of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced, 1660–1662*, ed. Arnold G. Matthews (1934; Oxford, 1988).

[50] *The Life of the Reverend Mr. George Trosse. Written by Himself, and Published Posthumously According to his Order in 1714*, ed. A.W. Brink (Montreal and London, 1974).

[51] Trosse, p. 52.

[52] Ibid., p. 53–4.

1693, the persecutions of the Huguenots had in any sense mellowed Trosse's Presbyterian indignation at the shortcomings of French Protestantism.[53]

But controversies over worship or questions of discipline have to be treated alongside cultural, or more precisely, literary affinities. The Huguenots and the English non-conformists could sympathise with one another through material circumstances and a shared experience of persecution. From 1662, the ejected English ministers began quite naturally to refer to the day when they were forced to leave their pulpits on 24 August as 'Bartholomew's Day', which allowed them to liken their experience to a bloody French massacre that evoked images of martyrdom with deep, symbolic significance. The dragoons breaking up Protestant assemblies in France must have seemed not unlike their counterparts across the Channel interrupting conventicles in the English countryside; and there are obvious similarities in the legal apparatus preventing ministers from returning within a certain distance from the place of their original congregation (compare the so-called 'Five Mile Act' of 1665 with the *arrêt du conseil* of 1683).[54] The authorities in both France and England came to rely on networks of spies, informers and intermediaries with financial, and in some cases, purely human incentives to give away the location of forbidden meetings and the names of neighbours who attended them. The Huguenot refugees were left in no doubt, by their contacts with those remaining in France, that their co-religionists were compelled to meet in clandestine circumstances.

Huguenots and persecuted non-conformists tended to couch this experience of persecution, clandestinity or exile in the same terms because fear of either physical or spiritual persecution and coercion remained one of the central themes of their writings. Beyond the Biblical motifs of the Exodus and the Church in the wilderness, the ministers, for instance, felt the need to communicate with their flock in the form of pastoral letters.[55] English non-conformists had their own at the Restoration, although of a different nature.[56] Within his prison cell at Bedford, the Baptist minister John Bunyan compensated for his lack of direct contact with his congregation by writing pastoral letters that were published in 1765, almost a century after his release.[57] A series of pastoral letters was also printed as a supplement to the biography of the dissenter Joseph Alleine, this time shortly after

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[53] For more general commentaries on anti-Huguenot sentiments, see Thorp, pp. 569–80.

[54] For details of the acts, see Keeble, *Restoration*, pp. 120–4. The vast majority of the 2,000 or so ejected ministers were Presbyterians since few Baptists and Independents had held positions in the Cromwellian Church. On the *arrêt*, see Labrousse, *Une Foi*, pp. 181–4.

[55] On Biblical motifs, see Hubert Bost, *Ces Messieurs de la R.P.R. Histoires et écritures de Huguenots, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, 'La Vie des huguenots' 18 (Paris, 2001), pp. 237–65 and Whelan, 'Writing the Self', pp. 467–8.

[56] On pastoral letters, see Elizabeth Labrousse, 'Les premières "lettres pastorales"', in Zuber and Theis, *La Révocation*, pp. 229–38.

[57] *A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan*, in *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners,* ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford, 1962) 104-31.

his death.[58] The imprisoned ministers adopted the voice of the Pauline epistles to counsel, appease and encourage those who found themselves without spiritual guidance, those who would be tempted to turn their back from true worship in dire circumstances which after all made little sense in their providential understanding of the history of the Church. The sense of guilt that could be felt if one eventually surrendered, either to the pressure of external circumstances or to some dark sin lurking in one's soul, was the same for a French Protestant who abjured or for an English non-conformist who despaired.[59]

The Huguenots' experience in Britain and America thus cannot be seen in isolation from the stupendous changes rocking the fragile assemblage of religious factions, and their modes of expression. Sermons, psalms, martyrologies, pastoral letters, narratives of escape and autobiographies composed a vast literature, echoing that of other religious minorities.[60] But the most pathetic aspects of the Huguenot literature of tears, or *larmes* (as in the title of Pineton de Chambrun's celebrated work) is only one aspect of the variety of Huguenot discourse. Hubert Bost has shown in the most effective terms the emotional streak of the Huguenot literature in the worship of a French community with its 'cries', 'groans' and 'sighs' under the Cross.[61] Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard has studied the almost 'dolorist' aspects of the literature of the exile.[62] But in parallel, in 1689, a pastor like du Bosc could write from Rotterdam to Abraham Tessereau on the latter's history of the Huguenot persecution, on the pressing need for studies not 'forged according to the author's pleasure, on imagination and fantasy', but full of 'original pieces ... edicts and declarations'.[63] This is the voice of one wishing for the literary

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[58] *The Life and Death of That Excellent Minister of Christ, Mr Joseph Alleine* (n.pl., 1671).

[59] It is perhaps with a sense of those literary affinities that, in 1985, the editors of a volume of essays in memory of Irene Scouloudi chose to couch the history of the Huguenot refuge in terms reminiscent of Bunyan's allegory, hence *The Strangers' Progress*, thus effecting a literary link between the Huguenot refugees and the English victims of Charles's and James's fluctuating religious policies. The Huguenots' assimilation in British culture was then not only a cultural, but also a spiritual phenomenon, a hard-won victory to get final admission to the promised City, if only an earthly one for the time being. See Randolph Vigne and Graham C. Gibbs (eds), *The Strangers' Progress: Integration and Disintegration of the Huguenot and Walloon Refugee Community, 1567–1889*, *PHS*, 26/2 (1995): 135–316.

[60] See Ruth Whelan, 'Writing the Self', and '"The Foolishness of Preaching": Rhetoric and Truth in Huguenot Pulpit Oratory', in Magdelaine *et al*., *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, pp. 289–300; Lougee, 'Escape Accounts'.

[61] Bost, *R.P.R.*, p. 320.

[62] 'Larmes réformées', in Magdelaine *et al*., *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, pp. 193–206

[63] My translation. Quoted in French by Thomas P. Le Fanu, 'Mémoires Inédits d'Abraham Tessereau', *PHS*, 15/4 (1937): 571. On Tessereau and Elie Benoît, see Bost, *R.P.R.*, pp. 267–79 and Muriel McCarthy, 'Elie Bouhéreau, First Public Librarian in Ireland', *PHS*, 27/4 (2001): 543–60. Benoît pronounced Tessereau a man 'painstaking,

tears to transform, or at least exist alongside, an historical experience of the Refuge, expressed by a new and distinctive voice that would carry Huguenot identity across Europe.[64]

It was up to the men of the Refuge to make this voice heard, a task they passed on to the second and third generations. While seeking to secure, day after day, year after year, the survival of their faith in France and England, Ireland, or America, caught between the Reformed discipline and the Book of Common Prayer, the refugees always kept an eye on the United Provinces, the Huguenots' 'great ark' according to Pierre Bayle and *plaque tournante* of eighteenth-century intellectual thought. Holland, free from the most obvious constrictions on liberties imposed in England, if not actually such a providential 'ark' as Bayle would have it,[65] afforded the Huguenot a remarkably powerful tribune.[66] In Holland, Huguenots

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precise, curious, and perfectly capable of amassing pieces that could serve for a Great work', *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes* (5 vols, Delft, 1693–95), vol. 1, sig. E3r. My translation. I am grateful to Charles-Edouard Levillain for sharing information on du Bosc and Tessereau.

[64] On the question of Huguenot historiography, and biographical dictionaries in particular, see Hubert Bost, 'L'Histoire des Eglises Réformées de France dans le *Dictionnaire* de Bayle', in Häseler and McKenna, *La Vie Intellectuelle*, vol.1, pp. 227–52. Ruth Whelan, through the example of Dumont de Bostaquet, discusses the personal and collective significance of memoirs, as another example of 'the impulse to collect and create documentary evidence of a way of life – and the destruction of that way of life' (Whelan, 'Writing the Self', p. 466).

[65] On censorship, see S. Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? State Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds), *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, Britain and the Netherlands 9 (Zutphen, 1987), pp. 63–86 and 'The Dutch Republic, an Island of Liberty in the Press in Seventeenth-Century Europe?', in Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet (eds), *Commercium Litterarium: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters, 1600–1750*, Lectures held at the colloquia of Paris (1992) and Nijmegen (1993), Studies of the Pierre Bayle Institute 25 (Amsterdam and Maarsen, 1994), pp. 218–300. On the effects of the Revocation, see Hans Bots and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds), *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Dutch Republic*, International Congress of the Tricentennial, Leyden, 1–3 April 1985 (Amsterdam and Maarsen, 1986).

[66] On the Dutch Republic, see for instance, Graham C. Gibbs, 'The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der nederlanden*, 86/3 (1971): 323–49 and 'Some Intellectual and Political Influences of the Huguenot Emigrés in the United Provinces, *c.*1680–1730', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der nederlanden*, 90/2 (1975): 255–87; C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots *et al.* (eds), *Le Magasin de l'Univers. The Dutch Republic as the Centre of European Book Trade*, papers presented at the international colloquium held at Wassenaar, 5–7 July 1990, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 31 (Leyden and New York, 1992), esp. Hans Bots, 'Le rôle des périodiques néerlandais pour la diffusion du livre (1684–1747)', pp. 49–70 and

intermingled with Englishmen as much as in London. It was a temporary refuge for men as different as John Locke and the Stuarts' licenser-in-chief, Roger L'Estrange. One wonders about the mood of L'Estrange, who had built a career on suppressing clandestine non-conformist presses, when he arrived in an Amsterdam teeming with booksellers and printers. The 'devil's bloodhound', as he was nicknamed by his opponents, the paranoid journalist who tracked down and sought to imprison anybody daring to sound a dissenting note, must have cut a singular figure in Amsterdam's paradise of the press. That same year, he translated into English a pamphlet entitled *Apologie pour une réunion des Protestants français*. In his address to the reader, L'Estrange enlists the help of Pierre du Moulin, Jean-Maximilien de L'Angle and Jean Claude in support of the Church of England's fight against the English dissenters.[67] His Huguenots were firmly on the side of the Stuarts' order. L'Estrange's *Apology* is an example of the complex journey of ephemeral literature throughout Europe, the way it was diffused, translated, appropriated, and sometimes greatly perverted, in the course of its printing history.[68] It also reminds us that Britain also saw the Huguenots both as potential allies and as enemies to be reckoned with on the British political scene, even before their involvement in pre-revolutionary propaganda against James.[69] In the wake of L'Estrange's *Apology,* in the summer 1682, two Huguenots, Jean Dubois and Thomas Papillon, ran as the Whig candidates in the highly contested London sheriff elections. Both, at various times, had assumed important positions in the non-conformist Threadneedle Church and both witnessed the return of their 'Frenchness' in the course of the disputes, even though they were already well-established and integrated merchants whose interests differed widely from those of the newcomers of the 'second refuge'.[70]

Françoise Weil, 'Le rôle des libraires hollandais dans la diffusion des livres interdits en France dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle', pp. 281–8.

[67] Roger L'Estrange, *An Apology for the Protestants: Being a Full Justification of their Departure from the Church of Rome, with Fair and Practicable Proposals for a Re-Union* (London, 1681), sig. A3r–v.

[68] The diffusion of clandestine literature is one important aspect of the history of the book. For examples, see Yardeni, 'Contrebande et circulation des livres religieux protestants en France au XVIIIe siècle', in Yardeni, *Le Refuge Huguenot*, pp. 177–86 and John Christian Laursen, 'Impostors and Liars: Clandestine Manuscripts and the Limits of Freedom of the Press in the Huguenot Netherlands', in John Christian Laursen (ed.), *New Essays on the Political Thought of the Huguenots of the* Refuge, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 60 (Leyden, 1995), pp. 73–100.

[69] W.A. Speck, 'The Orangist Conspiracy againt James II', *Historical Journal,* 30/2 (1987): 453–62.

[70] See, Gary S. De Grey, 'John Dubois', *Oxford DNB*. For Papillon, see A.W.F. Papillon, *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon* (London, 1887); Irene Scouloudi, 'Thomas Papillon, Merchant and Whig', *PHS*, 18/1 (1947): 49–72; Lacey, *Dissent* pp. 431–2; David Ormrod, 'Puritanism and Patriarchy: The Career and Spiritual Writings of Thomas Papillon, 1623–1702' in Alec Detsicas and Nigel Yates (eds), *Studies in Modern Kentish History. Presented*

In the 20 years since the last major commemoration of the Revocation, we have profited from invaluable studies on the circulation of men, texts and ideas leading up to the Enlightenment.[71] The Huguenots' involvement in the debate on toleration is now well charted (chapter 10).[72] Englishmen and Frenchmen conversed freely in Holland, as exemplified for instance by the English Quaker, Benjamin Furly, and the group of men gravitating around his Dutch home (chapters 8 and 9). A rich merchant with wide-ranging interests, and an impressive library, Furly's house afforded sanctuary to such men as John Locke, Pierre Bayle, Jacques Basnage,

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to Felix Hull and Elizabeth Melling on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Kent Archives Office (Maidstone, 1983), pp. 124–37; Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 139; Greaves, *Secret Kingdom*, pp. 96–7 and 'Thomas Papillon', *Oxford DNB*. For an analysis of the importance of foreigners in municipalities, see John Miller, 'Town Government and Protestant Strangers, 1560–1690', *PHS*, 26/5 (1997): 577–89. For the political thought of Huguenot refugees, most notably Paul de Rapin Thoyras, Emmanuel de Cizé, Jacques Abbadie and Armand Dubourdieu, see Myriam Yardeni, 'The Birth of Political Consciousness among the Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in England (*c.*1685–1750)', in Vigne and Littleton, *Strangers*, pp. 404–11. Papillon served as deacon from July 1657 to June 1659 and Dubois from January 1657 to December 1660. Dubois also served as elder from 1670 to 1672. See Gwynn, *Calendar*, pp. 92–3 and *Minutes*, pp. 6–8. The consistory of Threadneedle was naturally anxious not to be seen in an unfavourable light by the Bishop of London, especially after his declaration that Threadneedle encouraged a 'religion which taught rebellious principles' (ibid., p. 101). See also Schickler, vol. 3, pp. 317–320; Beeman, 'Notes', pp. 111, 122, 155; Barrett, 'Regulating Moral and Social Behaviour', p. 239.

[71] E.S. de Beer, 'The Huguenots and the Enlightenment', *PHS*, 21 (1965–70): 179–95; George Gusdorf, 'L'Europe protestante au siècle des Lumières', *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 17 (1985): 13–40; Hans Bots, 'Le Plaidoyer des journalistes de Hollande pour la tolérance (1684–1750)', in Magdelaine *et al*., *De L'Humanisme aux Lumières*, pp. 547–59; Myriam Yardeni, 'La présence des Lumières dans les sermons du Refuge Huguenot', in *Refuge Huguenot*, pp. 103–10; and *Commercium Litterarium*. More specifically on the Huguenots as journalists, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Grub Street Abroad: Aspects of the French Cosmopolitan Press from the Age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution*, Lyell Lectures, 1989–90 (Oxford, 1992) and below, chapter 9.

[72] See Geoffrey Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685–1787. The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Waterloo, 1991); Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (eds), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991); Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Toleration and the Enlightenment Movement', in Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter (eds), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 23–68; Jonathan Israel, 'Spinoza, Locke and the Enlightenment Battle for Toleration', Ibid, pp. 102–113; Hans Bots, 'Le Plaidoyer des journalistes de Hollande pour la tolérance (1684–1750), in Magdelaine *et al*., *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, pp. 547–59; Sean O'Cathasaigh, 'Bayle and Locke on Toleration', ibid., pp. 679–92; Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996) and more recently, Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter (eds.), *Toleration and Religious Identity: The Edict of Nantes and Its Implications in France, Britain and Ireland* (Dublin, 2003).

Algernon Sidney, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Gilbert Burnet and Francis Mercurius van Helmont.[73] The Huguenots contributed to the vital diffusion of English thought abroad (Pierre Coste translated John Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* under the philosopher's supervision) and, conversely, to the advance of foreign literature in their host country (Des Maizeaux translated Bayle's *Dictionary* into English) in a 'cross fertilisation of ideas'.[74] The volume of essays presented here, having traced the Huguenots who took refuge in Britain from East London to the more fashionable West End, Dublin and New York, could not end without assessing their role in the republic of letters, a virtual space that gave them freedom from the constraints of geography, and allowed them to create networks of religious, intellectual and personal friendship.[75] The translations of Coste and Des Maizeaux, the latter's journalistic ventures, the Huguenot influence in the printing world, the intellectual milieu that helped John Toland shape his philosophical ideas, to cite only four of the examples developed in Part III below (chapters 7–10), are aspects of a religious culture which also gave birth to controversies such as Louis du Moulin's pamphlet denouncing the drift of the Church of England towards Rome, or the tract against the Dublin conforming pastor Jacques Abbadie (chapters 2 and 3).[76] In the last instance, the intellectual contribution of the men and women of the Refuge to the birth of the modern state, the formidable figures of the republic of letters, are the most vocal, the most visible part of a culture that also became itself in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, St Mary's Chapel in St Patrick's Cathedral, the non-conformist churches of the 1690s, the weavers' workshops, and the charitable institutions such as 'La Soupe' or the 'Pest House' in Bunhill Fields, a place profoundly associated with the heyday of English dissent (chapter 4).

The following chapters reflect the diversity of the religious history, literature and culture of the British Refuge from the late seventeenth century. They move from resistance to obedience, from dissent to conformity, from social and cultural cohesion to disputes and schisms. They are also deeply concerned with the material conditions that gave birth to the Huguenots' experience of the Refuge, the places in

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[73] See for instance, Gerald Cerny, 'Jacques Basnages and Pierre Bayle: An Intimate Collaboration in Refugee Literary Circles and in the Affairs of the Republic of Letters, 1685–1706', in Magdelaine *et al*., *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, pp. 495–507 and W.H. Barber, 'Pierre Bayle, Benjamin Furly and Quakerism', ibid., pp. 623–33.

[74] See Goldgar, 117–37; Gwynn, *Heritage*, p. 109.

[75] For a general account of the 'wanderings' of the Protestant refugees whose sense of space cannot be defined by geographic boundaries but by spiritual ones, see Gusdorf, 'L'Europe protestante', pp. 21–4; Eisenstein, *Grub Street*, pp. 3–6 and Goldgar, 'Prologue', pp. 1–11.

[76] For Des Maizeaux, see Joseph Almagor, *Pierre des Maizeaux (1673–1745): Journalist and English Correspondent for Franco-Dutch Periodicals, 1700–1720* (Amsterdam and Maarsen, 1989) and below, chapters 9 and 10. On Huguenot booksellers in England, see Catherine Swift, 'The French Booksellers in the Strand: Huguenots in the London Book-Trade, 1685–1730', *PHS*, 25/2 (1990): 123–39.

which it was shaped: churches and libraries, coffee-houses and hospitals, the battlefields of Northern Europe and the muted studies of English country estates. They deal with pastors, tutors, journalists, translators and philosophers, as with the fourteen-year-old maiden who caused a scandal by marrying her minister, the simple soldier who charged the army of Louis XIV, or the refugee awaiting a free dinner from his local poor relief. With concerns, to borrow a last phrase from John de Soyres, not only 'sentimental and antiquarian',[77] but also scholarly and historical, we now bring out the fruits of a reflection on the religious culture of the Huguenots in what was, for them, a very long eighteenth century.

[77] De Soyres, p.11.